13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

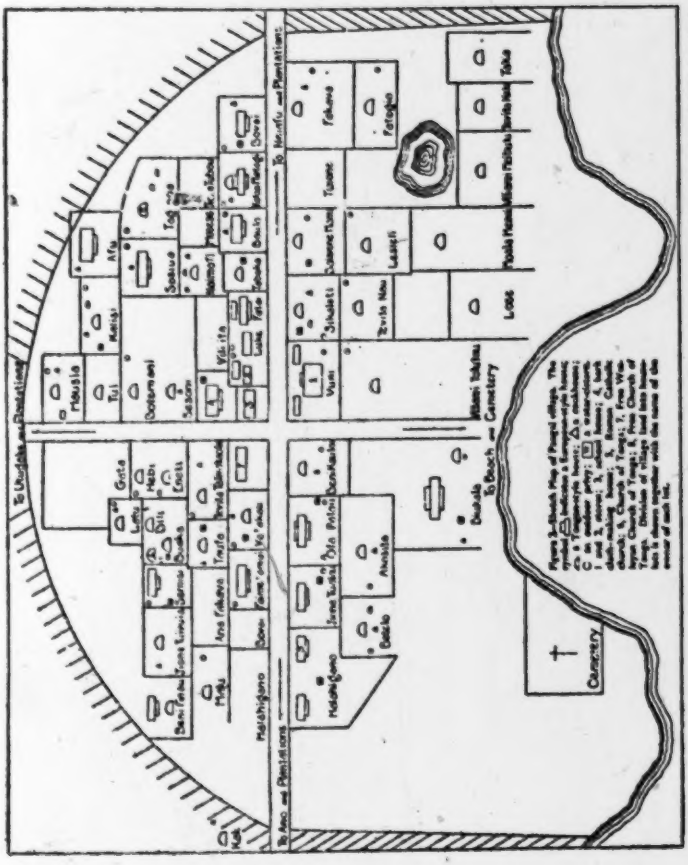

FIG. 2.

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423
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13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

blow at the time of, or immediately after, heavy rains when the ground is soft and consequently the roots of the trees have little grip in the muddy, yielding soil.

The Village

Pangai village is a relatively self-contained economic unit. The villagers look upon their village as their chief source of satisfaction for both work and play. There is, of course, continual coming and going between Pangai and other nearby villages. On the half dozen times each year when the banana and tourist boat calls at Neiafu (population in 1931, 1610 people), many Pangai people, men mostly, congregate in Neiafu to see the sights and to gossip with relatives and friends from other villages. Each year a few youths from the village go off to school in Nukualofa, capital and chief port of the Kingdom on distant Tongatapu, 170 miles to the south. They travel by small motor vessel or more hazardous cutter. Sometimes they return to Pangai for the annual vacation. Often they stay with relatives in Tongatapu until their schooling is finished. Adults rarely make the journey to Tongatapu. For the most part they stay in the village, relieving monotony by occasional visits to Neiafu.

The map of Pangai village (Fig. 2)[A] sketches the lay-out of house-lots which together take up an area of about 20 acres. There are four church buildings. One of these is of European, church-like form; another is a small simple four-square board structure; the remaining two are Tongan-style architecture. The school-house is a small frame building, bare inside and out. The children sit on the floor. The community bark-cloth-making house stands next to the school-house. It is a larger frame building that stands empty and unused most of the year. The two stores are again small frame buildings with large copra-drying platforms and small copra storehouses alongside.

The style of house common in the village is also indicated on Figure 2. Of the 50 dwelling houses, 36 or 72 per cent. are Tongan style, 14 or 28 per cent. are European frame houses with iron roofs. Most of the Tongan style houses are built according to old-time native practice with coconut-sheet wall-screens and coconut mat thatching. A

A. [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

comes into contact consist of a handful of whites, Asiatics, and Hindus. The Asiatics are mostly Japanese store-keepers, the Hindus tailors, and the whites are store-managers, government servants, missionaries, their wives and dependants. For the Kingdom of Tonga the proportion of Tongans to non-Tongans, according to the police census of 1937, was about 31 to 1; in Neiafu in 1938, the proportions were more nearly 50 to 1. Tongans therefore make up the large majority of the population. By law, whites, Asiatics, and Hindus may not take up residence in the small Tongan villages; elsewhere they may lease land only. The Pangai villager therefore sees whites in his village only when the government doctor makes an occasional visit. When the villager visits Neiafu he may come into contact with the white doctor or the white postmaster, perhaps with the white store managers (though store-attendants are generally half-caste Tongans), possibly with the few white missionaries or the Asiatics or Hindus (if his business takes him to a Japanese store, requires the services of a Japanese commercial photographer or needs the skill of the Hindu tailor). The villager's knowledge of, and attitudes to, the non-Tongan foreigners stem from his contact with these individuals, from his observations of a few tourists and travellers, and from any further contacts he may have had with these foreigners during residence in, or visits to other parts of the Kingdom.[1]

The general attitude of the villager to foreigners is one of curiosity and interest which gives way to a matter-of-fact acceptance of them and their services (medical, administrative, spiritual, commercial) on the basis of greater familiarity. The villager furthermore tends to reflect a common attitude of pride in being Tongan which is naturally more pronounced in the larger towns of the kingdom. Buried somewhere in his mind is the slogan, "Tonga for the Tongans" which is the expression of this

[1] It may be noted that there are no discernible influences of either Japanese or British Indian cultures upon village life. The only exception to this was the provision at one feast we attended of two Japanese fans, covered with advertising, for us to use to keep away flies. The Japanese manager of the Japanese-controlled store in Neiafu has a Japanese wife and children. His store sells the usual run of trade-goods in which all South Seas stores specialize. The Hindu tailor is married to a Hindu wife. He also keeps a small store.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

which this would have entailed. The cue given by Tukuaho was a useful one, and for the present I became to the Tongans not a Minister of the Crown, but "*Koe tagata fakahinohino*" (The expounder—of the dark ways of civilised man).

The Privy Council over, we had time to look about us. The island at this point is barely half a mile wide: every rood of it seems to be under cultivation, from the back of the town to the edge of the rocks on the Liku upon which the ocean-rollers, driven before the steady trade-wind, beat unceasingly. The Europeans of the place live in a row of stores on the beach, each hungry for copra, each fearing to give the natives credit, yet not daring to refuse lest they take their custom to a neighbour; and each, when he has given credit, mortified by seeing his debtor pass his store to sell his copra to a hated rival. There is the agent of the great Hamburg firm, the agent for M'Arthur & Co., a free-lance or two, a carpenter, and the Customs officer of the port, who brings up a large family on £100 a-year. The only friendships in this heterogeneous society are mere alliances against a common foe, and as they are all by instinct against the Government, and can now have the exciting sport of setting the king against his Ministers, there is something very like reconciliation among them.

On Sunday we went to church in a driving rain-storm, but, notwithstanding the weather, the little building was filled. The women in their native finery looked infinitely more respectable than their brothers and husbands, who had donned threadbare coats and trousers in honour of the day, but had stopped short of shoes. The king was

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

181 able than the mission primness of the Tongatabu maidens, whose discreet deportment invites suspicion.

245 From the wharf one climbs a grassy slope, and straightway one is in the orange-groves. The whole town is an orange-garden. Beneath the dark shiny foliage lie piles of rotting fruit, half-concealed by the rank couch-grass. Some of the trees are bent with their green load, others are white with blossom, for the crops succeed each other 342 with little intermission. Behind the long rows of trees nestle the brown thatched houses, set down, as it were, upon the grass like the toy cottages of a child.

133 There is no beach here. The shores of the inlet are steep to, and the main road runs along the edge of the cliff. 344 On this road stands the "Palace," a barn-like decaying structure of wood, from which the paint has long ago been washed by successive rainy seasons. Poor Laifone main- [358 513 264] tained the place with magnificence,—that is to say, there were marble mantelpieces (never paid for), cut-glass decanters, china, plate, whips, walking-sticks, boot-trees, ornaments, and saddles scattered in heaps over the furniture and floors, very dirty and in indescribable confusion; while the royal master of all this luxury slept on the floor, ate his meals with his fingers, and drank his liquor simply from the black bottle without the intermediary of a cut-glass decanter. But now even those glories have departed, and the house is empty except when the king pays a fly- 346 ing visit to Vavau. Beyond the "Palace" were the stores, [439] built on the seaward side of the road for greater facility in shipping copra, which comes next to oranges as the chief 563 product of Vavau. These stores, kept by rival traders 441 struggling for the custom of the passing Tongans, breed by

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

lantern or a Coleman lamp.

In addition to town allotments, the residential sector of the village includes three churches, a government-owned concrete water tank for collecting rainwater, and a malae or 'village green'. The malae is the large open space between the noble's house and the main road. Except for the churches, the only non-residential structures in the village are six privately-owned shops (each set on a corner of the owner's 'api), four privately-owned sheds, and an open-sided thatched structure at the side of the malae, which serves as a Baby Clinic when the visiting nurse makes her bi-weekly visit. Motulahi is also served by four schools and three burial sites or cemetries, all of which lie adjacent to or near the boundary of the residential sector. In its lack of offices or coffee-shops, Motulahi is typical of Tongan villages. The many churches and nearby schools are also typical.

History of Settlement at Motulahi

The following data, which portray the history of settlement at Motulahi, serve to flesh out the national statistics relating to processes of migration to Tongatapu. These materials also indicate something of the operation of the system of land tenure and particularly how operation of the system is an integral part of the relationship between the tofia owner and the people of his village.

368 Besides dwellings and the attendant secondary buildings, Puke has
366 a church, a town building, a kindergarten, a clinic and a store. All except the last are grouped on a small piece of land donated by the noble for community purposes. The store is located next to the house of the store owner.

491 An unsurfaced road connects the village with the main road and
494 buses traveling the main road are usually the only form of motor trans-
365 port used by the villagers. A power line runs beside the main road but no feeder line has been extended to Puke and there is no other source
312 of electrical power. The major sources of water are rain catchment and storage in brick and cement cisterns. There are also a few hand-dug wells from which water is obtained by rope and bucket.

Village Demography

162 Village population in 1971 was 261 persons living in 42 households.
[592] Table 5A describes the population by age and sex. The population has
(166) grown considerably since 1955 due largely to migration from more remote
[161] islands of Tonga (See Table 6B for origin of household heads and Table 7C
369 for crude growth rates). Puke, being close to Nuku'alofa, has experi-
166 enced the effects of rural-to-urban migration in the archipelago (See Walsh 1969: 95-98). Recent immigrants have come to Puke because it provides easy access to services centered in Nuku'alofa not available in most of the more rural locales. Opportunity for education and better health care are frequently given as reasons for wishing to live close
166 to Nuku'alofa. Informants also mention the greater availability of

A, B, C [See pp. 27-29 respectively--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30]

/92 cont./

553 rendered: "the coconut whose offshoot comes out of the sea, to take
551 root on the shore [whither it was driven]").

B. Village Life

a) Settlement and Community

361 The Tongans today live in villages. These differ in size. In
162 general, they have several hundred inhabitants. In the smallest settlements on a few islands there are approximately 50 to 80 natives
632 living. The largest, "urbanized" villages, on the other hand, are:
[162] Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) with approximately 4500 inhabitants, Neiafu (Vava'u) with approximately 2200, Mu'a (Tongatapu) with approximately 1400, and Pangai-Hihifo (Lifuka) with approximately 1000. In these
[464] larger towns many Tonga already work in trade, industry and government
[366] service; here there are rather large department stores and cars;
[493] Nuku'alofa and Neiafu have paved streets, also cinemas, and, in the
[363] former telephones and electric light have been installed. But here too,
[368] in the larger settlements, the majority of Tongans have plantations and
[365] work them more or less regularly--to some extent along with other
[423] occupations.

621 /93/ The following figures were obtained in average Tongan
162 villages

592
362

	Number of inhabitants	Households (cook hut & meals in common)	Living- (sleeping houses)
Nomuka.....	567	85	125
'Uiha ('Uiha).....	647	100	143
Felemea ('Uiha).....	372	48	72
Fungamisi (Vava'u).....	263	45	55

368 In an average Tongan village there are usually three or four churches of various denominations. (264)

264. Even on the island of 'O'ua (Ha'apai group)

/93 cont./

368 there are three churches (party in Tongan style) in the settlement inhabited by only 200 natives.

[366] In addition, a village has a government school and often a Wesleyan school as well, one to four kautaha houses (meeting place of the women's cooperative for tapa- and mat-making) and one to four small (retail) shops.

361 Although most of the houses are situated on the roads that intersect
351 the villages, their distribution seems irregular. The broad grassy areas (265)

[245] 265. These are often interspersed with mango and bread-fruit trees.

on which they are situated are (in accordance with the law) cut short by the natives, but are often untidy looking. Since most individual plots are not fenced in and the neatly plaited fences of plantations and houses praised by observers in old times have long since been forgotten the villages give an even more unkempt impression.

361 These villages are a development of more recent times. In
178 ancient Tonga the houses of commoners were scattered throughout the
[491] islands; people lived on their plantations, (266)

266. Ellis writes, for example: "The houses do not form towns or villages, but are built about five hundred yards or more from each other and generally in the midst of a plantation, the whole of which is frequently fenced in with a hedge of bamboo, or reeds with a door-way"; /cited in English/ (W. Ellis, An authentic Narrative.../cited in English /. loc. cit. I. 1782 pp. 88/89.

and many roads made possible easy connection between the plantations. (267)

267. Reminiscent of this old way of settlement are the huts on individual plantations found even today on various islands, which are very

162 percentage increase of 48.3 percent of the total "urban" population
161 and represented in excess of 46 percent of the Kingdom's popula-
166 tion. Nuku'alofa alone accounted for nearly 21 percent of the
162 national population total.

361 It is important to note that 9 of the 13 settlements
A (Table 6) are in the middle and eastern sections of the Tongatapu
A district, the areas where economic and educational activities are concentrated. These 9 villages represent nearly 60 percent of the island's population, with Nuku'alofa, alone, accounting for 32.4
361 percent of the total (Fiefia 1968, p. 10). An example of extremely
166 rapid village growth is the case of Haveluloto (Havelu). This rapid growth is the result of three factors:

1. The proximity of Havelu to Nuku'alofa attracts many people who could not find land within the capital.

366 2. The relocation of the Tonga Copra Board and the Tonga Construction Company, from Nuku'alofa to Havelu, was accompanied by a subsequent relocation of employees.

368 3. The construction of a new island hospital within Havelu has attracted many residents.

361 The major road between Havelu's hospital and Nuku'alofa is solidly
491 lined with dwellings.

162 The four remaining villages of over 1,000 population, not found on Tongatapu, are divided evenly between Ha'apai and Vava'u.
162 Of these, Pangai declined in population during the intercensal
166 period, while the other three registered the lowest percentage
161 increases of the 13 settlements. This statistic indicates that movement from rural to urban areas was not as influential within
A [See Category 162, p. 38—Analyst.]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 978 OU9 Tonga OU9

245 decreasing production of bananas is the spread of black leaf streak, bunchy top and scab moth.)

439 [647] Marketing of banana produce, through the Tonga Produce Board, is often difficult because of improper scheduling of shipping facilities and the subsequent sale of under or overripe fruit. [435] In one example, 9,000 cases of produce became overripe while in wharfage awaiting shipment, resulting in the fruit being sold for 40 cents per case (Report of the Minister of Agriculture 1973, p. 5). The bulk of banana produce is shippped to New Zealand, although the shipping difficulties and quality control remain 245 obstacles to full entry into this market. These same problems 439 with marketing, shipping and quality have been effective in removing [654] many Tongan farmers from banana production. At present, the Produce Board reports that export levels are so low that levies are not sufficient to provide a comprehensive service to growers in such areas as disease control ("Banana Exports . . ." 1974, p. 5).

439 438 In addition to the exportation of bananas, coconut, and miscellaneous melons, fruits and vegetables to international markets, small quantities of produce are also traded among the islands, the most important of these transfers being from 'Eua to Nuku'alofa on Tongatapu, and from Nuku'alofa to Pangai and Neiafu. This movement involves not only domestic produce, but also food imports such as tinned meats, sugar, flour and a wide range of foodstuffs sold through the local stores (fale koloa).

443 [438] [366] Large quantities of produce are also marketed domestically. Although some produce is sold in several smaller settlements, the

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

largest markets are Nuku'alofa in Tongatapu, Pangai in Ha'apai, and Neiafu in Vava'u. Such markets cater to two principal groups, although many people travel to market to buy, sell, or socialize. Those members of the non-Tongan population who do not lease land, such as church facilities, and must purchase market food, represent one group. Though not large in comparison to the Tongan population, this group does contribute a significant cash input to the local economy. The second group consists of landless Tongans and those Tongans who do not farm or garden intensively and derive cash income from other means.

Producers, or members of their families, most frequently sell directly to the consumer. Saturday is market day (although the major markets carry some business throughout the week, except Sunday) and the market area becomes the center of urban activity. Individuals having produce to sell may rent one of several types of stalls or floor space, upon which to display their produce. The staple foods (i.e., tubers, coconuts, and bananas) are the major items sold, although other types of food produce and miscellaneous items, such as shells, carvings, and handicrafts, are also available. Marketing hours generally are from 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., with the busiest time being in the forenoon and early afternoon.

Personal observations, plus discussions with sellers, revealed several marketing patterns. A few farmers or craftsmen sell each day or week on a regular basis, and generally have rented stalls which can be locked at the end of each day. Rental for these is on a monthly basis, and costs the producer eight dollars per month.